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AUTHENTIC PAPERS,

RELATIVE TO THE RIGHTS AND THE CLAIMS OF THE PEOPLE OF MALTA.

The arrangements respecting Malta have, from the very commencement of the negotiations for peace, been involved in mystery. Information, as to the principles on which the stipulations of the Xth article of the Definitive Treaty were adopted, has frequently been asked for, and as frequently refused. The papers touching the rights of the Maltese and of the Knights were moved for by Lord Temple, during the debates on the Treaty of Amiens; but the ministers sheltered themselves under the memorable declaration, that they "*had no* "OFFICIAL *document on the subject.*" These were Lord Hawkesbury's very words, (1) and how far these words were from the truth the reader is now about to learn.

The information which Parliament has called for in vain has, at last, come into our hands. The very respectable gentleman, whose name is affixed to the letter, which stands at the head of these interesting papers, feeling, in common with the public in general, the utmost indignation at the conduct of ministers in with-holding every species of true and useful communication from the Parliament, has laudably resolved to unveil their dark and disgraceful deeds with respect to the people of Malta, towards whom, as our readers will perceive, they have committed an act of injustice, of cruelty, and of perfidy, unequalled in the annals of the world, not excepting those of Republican France.——The first paper is a letter from Mr. Mackenzie, a British merchant who has lately returned from Malta, where he, in common with many others, obtained copies of the papers, which he has had the goodness to communicate to us. The second is a translation of the Representation and Remonstrance of the Maltese, drawn up, on the 22d of Oct. 1801, the moment they were acquainted with the Preliminaries of Peace, and brought to London by certain Deputies early in February, a copy having been dispatched immediately after it was drawn up. The third is a letter from the said Deputies requesting an audience with Lord Hobart. The fourth is a Memorial from the Deputies to Lord Hobart, repeating and enforcing the statements contained in their first remonstrance. The fifth and last document is a letter from the Deputies to their Constituents, giving an account of the reception they had met with from the British ministry, and of the promises made by Lord Hobart.——Having translated the second and fifth documents from the *Italian,* and the third and fourth from the *French,* we will not take upon us to assert, that every phrase of our translation is exactly equivalent to the original, but, we venture to say, that no essential change has been made in the meaning; and, as to the *authenticity* of the originals, that is a point on which our veracity and the reputation of our work stand pledged.

(1) See Debates, Register, Vol. II. p. 1259.

No. I.

Oxford Street, May 3, 1803.

SIR,—The subject of Malta has lately been much canvassed by the public; but as I have not seen in any publication, the memorials of the Maltese Deputies, which appear to me very interesting, I send you inclosed, copies of them. They were distributed to several persons at Malta, and one of them fell into my hands.——If you think them as important as I do, they are at your service to publish in your Weekly Register, if not, be pleased to return them by the bearer.——I am, Sir,—Your most obedient Servant,

Wm. Cobbett, Esq. *A. Mc Kenzie.*

No. II.

The humble Representation of the Deputies of the Islands of Malta and Gozo, at the foot of the Throne of the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Maltese were the first who took up arms against the French, and besieged them in Valetta: they were afterwards assisted by the Portuguese, the Neapolitans and the English, who blocked up the Great Harbour and the port of St. Paul, while the Maltese guarded every other avenue to the Island.——The gates of Valetta were shut on the 2d of September 1798, and on the 4th of September 1800, the city surrendered.——The foreign troops, (as all the manifestoes and proclamations of the different generals clearly prove) were solely auxiliaries. The Maltese were the principals in the war.——During the blockade, the Maltese lost more than 20,000 souls. The British army had

not a single soldier killed.——Reduced to the utmost extremity, from a scarcity of provisions, the French garrison offered to capitulate, and to leave hostages for the vast sums which they had taken from the public treasury, from the University, from the Monte di Pietà, from the Churches, and, lastly, from individuals, under the name of forced loans.——The British General, as well as the Maltese, were acquainted with the situation of the French garrison; they knew that in two days it must surrender at discretion. And in the city there were actually found no more than a few salms of wheat, and no other provisions whatever. ——Notwithstanding this, General Pigot (without the knowledge and consent of the Maltese) granted the garrison a capitulation, by which the French were permitted to carry away all their effects. In consequence of which, before the gates were opened, the French again plundered the city of the few jewels and effects which still remained to the abandoned inhabitants, and carried them in triumph on board the vessels that were to convey to France the spoils of a victorious people.——The British troops took possession of the place, and persuaded the Maltese to lay down their arms upon the glacis before they entered the town.——Confiding in the good faith of the British nation, the Maltese consigned the government of their country, into the hands of the British Generals, without suspicion, without stipulation, and faithfully obeying them, as ministers of the Sovereign whom their hearts had elected.——As to the manner in which they were treated, they wish to remain silent; as they are fully persuaded that it will be reprobated, with horror and regret, by the Ministers of the King of Great Britain.——The expenses of the war by land, and the pay of the Maltese battalions, were defrayed by the Maltese; and, in order to enable them to do this, they mortgaged the lands of several villages.——The Maltese, therefore, demand, that their Island may be restored to them; or that all the expenses incurred by them, for their share of the war, may be paid them, and that they may be indemnified for the losses occasioned by the war, and for the plunder which the French were permitted to carry away.——We affirm, that being the principals in the war, we were the lawful captors; that every species of public property is ours; and that if, by a superior force it should be wrested from our hands, the mortgages on them ought, at least, to be paid.——The Maltese demand the possession of their Island by right of conquest from the French, who conquered it from the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem.——As to the pretensions of this Order to the Island, it is our duty to assert, that it was ceded by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, in quality of fief, and as a deposit for arms, and the maintenance of troops, in order to make perpetual war against the infidels.——As to the landed property which that Order has acquired in Malta, it is contrary to the stipulations, and has been obtained by an usurpation of the property of individuals; and a great part of the fortresses themselves and the public edifices were built by taxes imposed upon the Maltese. The University, the Monte di Pietà, and other institutions belong, solely, to the Maltese, are the property of individuals, and never did belong to the Order.——Whatever pretensions the Knights of the Order of Saint John might have to the Island, they have forfeited them by an act much more conclusive than that of conquest, by the most unworthy treason to their own body, violating the sacred laws of religion, honour, and the statutes of the Order, which they solemnly swore at the altar to maintain with the last drop of their blood: by this act, according to their own laws, they cease to be members of the Order, are degraded with infamy, and the sound part of them, if such there were amongst them, were obligated to put them to death. And if at that time, when the Knights of the Order were entire, assembled in the seat of their establishment, which had been witness of so many glorious actions, with every means of defence, and without any wants; if at that time, when their honour had still a name, they were traitors, and partizans of the French, how much more must they be so now, covered as they are with shame and infamy, and reduced to indigence, and the most disgraceful mendicity!——But the Maltese have other pretensions to the sovereignty of their own Island. Without recurring to the maxim of some writers, that "when the throne "becomes vacant, the right of nominating the "Sovereign devolves to the people," the Maltese found their right to independence in having twice purchased Malta, and paid the stipulated price to the Kings of Spain and Sicily. King Alphonsus (to whose *alto dominio*, or suzerainty, our ancestors voluntarily submitted after having purchased the Island) in his diploma of the 27th of November 1397, declared, that Malta formed a portion of his dominion; and in case any of his successors alienated it from the crown, under whatever title, whether as a government, or perpetual or temporary rectory, to any person whatever, even though he should be of the most exalted blood of the reigning Sovereign, Malta was to be preserved "conjunctam semper tanquam membrumæ: Re-"gie Corone, &c.;" permitting the Maltese, in case of a contrary conduct, to resist "manu forti "pro quo in nullum crimen, delictum, vel in "inobedientiam incurrere reputentur, et aliqua-"tenus conseantur." This was confirmed by King Ferdinando on the 4th of January 14[illegible]; the Maltese consider it as their *Magna Charta*, and confident they are, that a charter so dear to the English, will never be ravished from them, by that nation.——With these privileges, Malta remained annexed to the crown of Sicily; and her inhabitants were treated by the King of Spain as a free people, until the reign of Charles the Fifth, who ceded the government to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, after the expulsion of that Order from Rhodes. After a long negotiation, the Maltese submitted, but under the express condition, that they should enjoy their privileges for ever, and be considered as vassals, and annexed to the crown of Sicily; and that *if the Order of Saint John should remove to another residence or establishment, Malta should return, as before, under the King of Sicily.* The submission of the Maltese to the King of Sicily, or to the King of Spain, was not in consequence of any right in those sovereigns to the sovereignty of the Island, but their *alto dominio* or suzerainty, and their protection was a favour solicited from them by the Maltese, for the sake of being protected by a powerful state against their enemies. They were *free allies, elected their Sovereigns*, the Kings of Sicily, and *governed their Island themselves.* Numerous documents are still in existence, to establish the truth of every assertion we have advanced, and still more.——Convinced of their own political weakness, and placing a full reliance in the sincerity of the British government, and in the faith of the British nation, the Maltese were more desirous of becoming subjects of the King of England, and of enjoying all the advantages of free subjects of a Monarch who is the father of all his people, than to assert and maintain their own en-

tire independence; but never did they suspect, nor can they now for a moment believe, that, violating all the laws of justice, divine and human, they are to be forcibly delivered up by their auxiliary allies, as a conquered people, or as vile slaves sold for a political consideration to other masters, to masters whose tyranny, extortion, and sacrilege, have rendered them the execration of every virtuous mind, and to whom, whatever horrible calamity may ensue, the Maltese nation never will submit. Excluded from the fortifications, almost entirely without arms, without ammunition, without provisions, and absolutely without any foreign alliance or promise of assistance, our brave Islanders resolved to perish or be free. The whole country rose up, armed for the greater part, with instruments of husbandry, and drove the French out of every post, except the great fortresses, which they blockaded, repulsed every sally of the enemy, and mortgaged their very lands, in order to procure grain from Sicily. The entrance of the Great Harbour they could not command; but while this entrance was blockaded by the British fleet, the Maltese, defended every other pass, till at last Valletta surrendered.—— And can it be expected, that such a people will deliver up their privileges and their liberty to such masters? They may be free, they may perish in the attempt, but never will the Maltese submit! At whose hands will Divine Justice demand their blood? Upon whose head will the vengeance of Heaven fall; that vengeance which our fathers invoke, together with our innocent children, our venerable clergy, our wives, and our violated daughters?—His Britannic Majesty has never declared himself in any public act, or in any of the manifestoes of his generals, our Sovereign. Never has he made use of any other title than that of Protector, however ardently the Maltese were desirous of being united with his subjects!——We conceive it totally superfluous to enter into a detail of the indignities which the Maltese have received at the hands of the Order of St. John, how they were held in base subjection, treated as beings of an inferior class, every Noble excluded from all pretensions to honour and distinction, every man of merit or talent deprived of every honourable situation; how our families were dishonoured or ruined, whenever the caprice of a knight fixed upon its victim. What those men were, and what must have been the situation of their Government, may be conceived from this single fact—every one of them had betrayed his own order—We pass indignantly over this point, to prove, that to deliver up the Island of Malta to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, would be the same as to deliver it over to the French. — If the knights of the Order, in possession of an independant sovereignty and revenue, enjoying every ease and pleasure that the imagination can form, engaged in objects of luxury, caressed and reverenced as so many sovereigns; if, in this condition, the French could command them to quit their terrestrial paradise to wander in the wide world, and could induce them to become partizans of their cause, what must not the power of the same French over them now be, dependent, degraded, dishonoured, reduced to beggary, in whom is extinct every spark of honour, and who have been guilty of the blackest, the most infamous of crimes, that of treachery, the most horrible infidelity, apostacy towards their God, and violation of the sacramental ordinances.—— France has three langues: Spain two. The Spaniards are dependant upon the French, and were so at the moment the Island was betrayed. Two langues only remain, which can, in any manner be said to be independant, the Knights of Naples and Sicily. All those of the Cisalpine Republic and of the countries either conquered or subject to a vassallage, if not in name, must, in fact, be partizans of the French. Almost every post of confidence, was occupied by the French. In short, there are not (even including those of the New Anglo-Bavarian langue) more than a thirtieth part of the Knights who are not at the blind disposal of France.—— The public treasures dissipated, and the commanderies (supposing them to be all restored) belonging to France, the Order must, of necessity, look up to France for the expenses of forming and maintaining an army for occupying the fortifications, and for purchasing and equipping a fleet, or at least a few gallies, in order to protect commerce, to cruize against the infidels, and to provision the island. France will, without doubt, furnish these necessary funds, and will be well indemnified, by securing to herself an impregnable fortress. The troops furnished by the Order, will, assuredly, be those most attached to the French Government.——Many additional proofs will be produced to confirm our assertion, that to give up Malta to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem is, in fact, consigning it over to the French. ——And can any one possibly doubt, that the principal object of the French Government in making peace, was not to obtain possession of Malta? Since on the possession of Malta depend the existence of India to Great Britain, her alliance with Russia, the security of Sicily, the commerce of the Mediterranean, of the Adriatic, of the Levant, and an uncontrouled sway over every circumjacent country.——The French once in possession of Malta, Sicily, we too well know, must instantly fall an easy prey to them. To defend Sicily in all her vulnerable points, would require a large and a better disciplined army than the sovereign of that kingdom can ever support. ——When the French were in possession of Malta, and had no idea that they would one day be driven out of it, they openly declared in print (in our newspapers and in pamphlets), in letters, and in public harangues, the extent of their views, and their projects of future conquest. They demonstrated, "that they could procure from the "Black Sea and the Adriatic timber, masts, and "all sorts of naval stores, at a much cheaper "rate than from the Baltic and other parts of the "North. That they considered the fleets and "ports of Russia, and the contemptible Government of Turkey, as dependent upon them; "and that, at any time, they could dictate to "them conditions of vassalage. That Russia "never would abandon her project of expelling "the Turks from Europe, and of founding a new "Greek state. That Russia has always treated, "as friends, those nations who, in this point, "entered into her projects; and as enemies, "those who ventured to oppose them; making "every thing subservient to this one consideration. That, in consequence, France could dictate to Russia, and detach her from her alliance "with Great Britain. That the formidable Russian navy in the Black Sea, united to that of "Greece, though it would be too feeble to cope "with the French fleet, when united with it, as "it always must be, would be an overmatch for "the navy of Great Britain; which, on no occasion, would be in a condition to detach a "squadron of sufficient magnitude to enter the "Mediterranean, as she must always keep up a

"sufficient force to guard her own coasts." All this have they printed both in and out of Malta, never imagining that they would be obliged to abandon the island. They concluded "that the "Mediterranean was exclusively theirs; and "that from Egypt they would be able to send an "army to conquer India, by attacking it in vari-"ous points." ——Malta again placed in the hands of the French, no power on earth will be able to expel them. There are no measures, however violent, that this artful nation, deterred by no principle of justice or humanity, will not take to obtain their object; such as driving the inhabitants out of the fortresses, disarming and putting to death all those whom they suppose enemies, and, perhaps, (as they have already once proposed) to send the whole population of Malta to France or to the Coast of Barbary, and to re-people the island with French. This threat, with which the inhabitants were well acquainted, was one of the principal reasons which first induced them to take up arms, and many reasons have we for believing, that it would have been carried into execution, if their affairs in Egypt had turned out prosperously.——With respect to the guarantee of this or that power, but too well is our island acquainted with the French and the Order, not to be convinced of the fallibility of such a proposition. The first war, whether of long or short duration, puts an end to it entirely. If even a third power were to occupy some parts of the fortresses, the troops would be corrupted by French money and French principles, and immense are the sums that would be wisely expended for that purpose. The military posts are dependant one upon the other. We are able to point out the utter impossibility of occupying a part without being in possession of the whole. We can clearly demonstrate how they can and will obtain their several ends. We can make it evident, that there is no security for the inhabitants, unless British troops are placed in possession of all the fortresses, and unless the administration of justice is placed in the hands of a British Civil Government. We wish not to enter into the profound views of Cabinets, but we beg to be permitted solely to observe, that if France and Russia had no other intentions than the re-establishment of the Order in its pristine splendour and independence, why have they not chosen a place where they could be more independant? Why have they considered the possession of Malta as necessary to the re-establishment of the Order? It is but too evident to every one capable of reflection, that Malta is not to be taken out of the hands of the English, for the purpose of remaining long in the hands of the Order of St John,

(Signed) The Deputies, and all the Representatives of the City, Towns, Villages, &c.

Malta, Oct. 22, 1801.

No. III.

Letter from the Maltese Deputies to Lord Hobart, on their arrival in London.

My Lord,—We have the honour of announcing to your lordship, our arrival in this capital, in quality of Deputies from the Maltese nation, appointed as soon as the intelligence of the Preliminary Treaty of Peace reached that island. Happy shall we be, my lord, in the opportunity of laying before your lordship the truth and justice of the demands with which we are entrusted. It is this hope, and the confidence we have in the equity of the British Government which have conducted us hither.——We pray your lordship to have the goodness to inform us, in the course of three days from the date of this letter, when it will be convenient to your lordship to receive the homage of the respectful attachment with which we have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) The Deputies, &c.

London, Feb. 4, 1802.

No. IV.

The Deputies appointed by the Extraordinary Congress held at Malta and Gozo, consisting of the Chiefs of Batallions and Representatives of each Town or Burgh, have the Honour of laying before his Excellency Lord Hobart, *his Britannic Majesty's Minister for the War Department, the following* Memorial, *according to the Instructions received by them from their Constituents on the 9th day of November*, 1801.

My Lord,—It is with the most lively affliction, and the utmost astonishment, that the people of Malta have learnt the severe and unmerited fate to which they are destined, by the return of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem to the Islands of Malta and Gozo. The defection and treason of which this Order was guilty, will form an epoch in the annals of the world, as striking as that by which we are again thrown under its despotic dominion, after it had abandoned us to an army, unfaithful to all its promises and engagements. The sentence which impartial posterity will pronounce upon these transactions, will not, assuredly, be creditable to the age in which we live, and already we foresee the complaints and reproaches with which we should be loaded by our latest posterity, were we to permit an unworthy timidity to impose silence upon us, before the just and magnanimous tribunal to which we have, happily, the opportunity of appealing.—— We shall pass over, my Lord, the many motives which we have of resentment against the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem. The blood which has been spilt, the death of about twenty thousand of our fellow citizens after scenes of the most heart-rending misery, the expenses we incurred in the first months of the revolution to maintain our battalions, and the loss of six millions of crowns, sufficiently prove the falsehood of the atrocious calumnies heaped upon us by the author of the *Reply to the Manifesto of the Prior of Russia*. The imposture carries its own contradiction with it. No one is ignorant, that the plan of the invasion of Malta was projected in Paris, and confided to the principal Knights of the Order, resident at Malta. Letters in cyphers were incessantly passing and repassing, without, however, alarming the suspicions of the deceased Grand Master de Rohan, or of the Grand Master Hompesch.——After these irrefragable facts, thus hastily cited, consider, my Lord, whether the Maltese people could behold without astonishment and terror, the authors of all the miseries which have befallen them, again set foot in their country, and again domineer over them. Were we, my Lord, to remain silent, the ashes, still warm, of our brave relatives who fell to liberate and *to conquer* their country, would call upon us more effectually to defend our rights, and the cause of truth and of justice.—Yes, my Lord, we dare to repeat it: the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem can never be re-established in Malta, without an infringement of the legitimate rights of the august descendant of Charles the 5th, the rights of the Maltese, and without exposing them to fresh conflicts.

ever distinguished for their attachment to their antient Sovereign, have, in these latter times, proved that they ought equally to be so, for their love of justice, and their bravery.——They can readily bury all their resentments; but they cannot help being desirous, that *the sacrifices they have made may not be forgotten.* As a proof of these sacrifices, may we be permitted, my Lord, to instance the peaceable resignation of the Maltese to the capitulation which the British General made with M. Vaubois. The blood we had spilt, our exertions, *our rights*, and all our interests were either *forgotten or despised.* We beheld with exemplary moderation, as every one is forced to acknowledge, the French lay down their arms on the glacis, *only to load themselves with the remainder of our spoils*; and the faithful and virtuous Maltese were reduced to the necessity, of envying the treatment of their rebellious and criminal brethren. Would we could conceal from our descendants the particulars of a capitulation which, at the same time, *wounded our rights and rendered us miserable!* It is true, that the presence and wisdom of Captain Ball, to whom we preferred our complaints, contributed greatly to alleviate our sadness; but circumstances not having seconded either our expectations or necessities, we cannot, my Lord, dissemble the *unfavourable impressions* which the preliminaries of peace *have given us of a government*, to which we have ever been anxious of shewing our attachment, our fidelity and our preference. ——We know, my Lord, that it is not for us to influence the political operations of nations. Nature has placed Malta to be considered for her situation and strength, and not to dictate arrangements to other countries. But still, my Lord, it may be prudent not to pass over her numerous population. Russia and France, as well as the other great powers of Europe, are too just and too enlightened to censure the Maltese for the steps they have taken, and for their opposition to the re-establishment of an Order, which from its despotism, its defection, its treachery, and its depravity of manners, can never inspire confidence nor reconcile differences.——Nevertheless, my Lord, if from unavoidable and imperious circumstances, the Maltese must undergo the pain and mortification of being separated from the Empire of his Britannic Majesty; if, for the tranquillity of Europe, the Islands of Malta and Gozo must remain in a state of neutrality, we beseech you, my Lord, in the name of our constituents and of all that is most dear and sacred among men; in the name of every law, human and divine, in the name of the *law of nations and of justice*, to supplicate his Britannic Majesty to deign to employ his effectual and powerful mediation, with the other powers, in order that the Islands of Malta and Gozo may be left *in their independence*, under the mutual guarantee of Great Britain and France, and that they may not, after their inhabitants have shed their blood, and expended their substance, be considered as a *conquered country.*——You well know, my Lord, that as deputies from the Maltese people, we cannot dispense with laying before your Excellency, the wishes and *intentions* of our nation. In citing a portion of the crimes of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, we have not merely been desirous of giving vent to our feelings, but of justifying, in the face of the whole universe, *our eternal opposition and vigorous resistance if it should ever* dare to re-appear in our dwellings—still dyed with the blood which it caused to flow.——Condescend, my Lord, to exert your influence with his Britannic Majesty, in favour of justice, truth, humanity, and of a nation worthy of a better fate. Deign to accept the homage of our respectful attachment.

(Signed) The Deputies.

TESTAFERRATA.—ABBÉ RICCAUD.—ABBÉ MALIA.—CASTAGNA.—MALIA.—CACHIA.

London, No. 7, Upper Berkley Street, March 1, 1802.

No. V.

Extract of a Letter written by the Deputies of Malta and Gozo to their Constituents, dated London, 2d of March, 1802.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SEIGNIORS.—We arrived here the 1st ult. The 4th we wrote the inclosed letter [No. III.] to Lord Hobart, the minister, stating we were arrived in this capital in the character of deputies to represent the demands of our fellow citizens.—In consequence of this letter, by means of Sir Alexander Ball, the minister made known to the deputation, that *they would do well to procure their departure from London, as soon as possible*, adducing for reasons, that *their remaining would give jealousy to France*, and thereby, impede the conclusion of the definitive articles of peace, and that he could not, for reasons of state, receive and hear them *in his office*, but that he would permit them to come *in private to his house*, where he would hear them. We were received by the minister on the 8th of February, and he heard, with patience, all the reasons for which we were sent to London, particularly to *protest to the British government, in the name of our nation, against the cession of our Island to the Order of St. John*, and all the reasons for which we do not recognize the right of the Order to the dominion of our island, and the firm and effectual resistance which we were resolved to make, to oppose the return of the Order into our mother country.——To this representation the Minister answered that the English government would *take care of the happiness* of the Maltese, and that the result would prove to us, that the return of the Order in Malta would be of advantage, *by the precautions which the English government would take to guarantee the people of Malta.*——Yesterday, with the approbation of Sir Alexander Ball, we presented the inclosed memorial No. 2. [No. IV. in this series] and wait his answer.——It is one day reported that there will be war, and the next that peace will be concluded, &c. We are, &c.

What answer the deputies received, or whether they received any at all, MR. MACKENZIE was not informed; but he has heard, that the high-minded Lord Hobart, for the cogent reason stated in the request conveyed by Captain Ball; that is to say, *for fear of giving umbrage to France*, and thereby hazarding the conclusion of the definitive treaty, declined giving them any answer at all, and left them "to procure their speedy "departure from London," in any manner they could, or else to join the beggars in the streets!

By comparing the definitive treaty, as far as it relates to Malta, with the remonstrances of the Maltese deputies, we at once perceive, that they are in direct contradiction to each other.—With respect to the interests of this country, they have been, in the opinion of the deputies, completely abandoned by the treaty. To give the Knights

the command of the Island, was, as they truly said, to give it to the French. The perfect inutility of all guarantees of other powers is forcibly and truly stated, in the remonstrance, and we well know, that no other security has been provided by the treaty, except that of a Maltese Langue, *which has not been, and which cannot be formed.* The ministers, therefore, in affecting to give up the Island to the Knights, *knew* that they were, in fact, giving it up to the French, a deed which they have still more deliberately and wickedly consummated, since the conclusion of the treaty, *by agreeing to the Pope's appointing a Grand Master, without the approbation or consent of the people of Malta.*

But, shameful as the conduct of ministers has been, in abandoning the interests of their own country, as connected with Malta, their conduct towards the gallant people of that Island is ten thousand times more shameful. It is as clear as day-light, that we possessed no right whatever to impose a government upon Malta. We did not conquer the Island; we entered it, not as conquerors, but as *protectors* of the Maltese, who themselves conquered it from the French, into whose hands it had been betrayed by the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The Maltese offered to become subjects of his Majesty, an offer which his Majesty was certainly at liberty to refuse, but, if he did so refuse, he had nothing further to do but to leave the people to themselves: his ministers had no right to impose on them any other Sovereign, much less to place them under a government, which they abhorred, a government by which they had been, not abandoned, but betrayed into the hands of a power, who had, plundered them of their property, defiled their altars, and violated their wives and their daughters. ——It will now be remembered, and with emotions of inexpressible indignation, that the ministers, in defending the definitive treaty, represented the arrangement respecting Malta, as a *favour* done to the inhabitants; as something of which those people were *glad*, and for which they were *grateful* to this country!!! Lord Hobart, in his reply to Lord Spencer, on the 7th of May, said, "It was "politic to pay *marked attention* to the native "inhabitants of Malta by creating a Maltese Langue; and that, as *we won the* "*Island by force of arms*, we had an indisputable *right* to arrange its government." (2) The Maltese deputies positively deny the latter position, and, as to the "*marked attention*," which it was "politic" to pay to them, the reader has seen, in the preceding documents, how far his Lordship's conduct agreed with this opinion. The "marked attention," which he paid to the native inhabitants, was to desire them instantly to quit London, lest their remaining here should give umbrage to the rapacious, cruel, and brutal wretches, by whom they had been oppressed, and from whom they themselves had delivered their country. This was the "marked attention" paid them by that "*safe* politician," who would not even permit them to enter his office!!!— The minister, the pure, the upright, the candid, the safe, Richmond Park minister, was, on this subject, still more explicit than his worthy colleague. In answer to Mr. Windham, on the 3d of May, 1802, he made use of the following declaration, which, when he takes the title of Lord AMIENS, we would humbly propose as the future motto of the Family.—"Without entering into the particu- "lars of the Right Honourable Gentleman's "statement, I have the satisfaction to know, "that THE MALTESE THEMSELVES "*do not partake in his sentiments: theirs are* "*those of* SATISFACTION, *and of* GRA- "TITUDE *to Great Britain for the terms pro-* "*cured them.*"!!!!!! (3) This is the *pure* and *candid* minister! This is the minister of *good intentions!* Little did he imagine, that the documents, which we have now published, would ever see the light. Little did he imagine, that the mask would so soon have been pulled off from his dark and selfish intrigues. Let it be observed, that he made this declaration *after* he was fully informed of the sentiments of the Maltese, after he must necessarily have read their remonstrance, and have been well acquainted not only of their abhorrence of being again placed under the knights, but of their resolution to resist the authority of treacherous and dastardly masters; and, with the knowledge of all this it was, that he declared the Maltese to be not only *satisfied* with, but *grateful* for, the terms of a treaty which irrevocably doomed them to submit to those masters, or to exchange their sway for the still more hated and dreadful tyranny of the French, by whom they had so lately been plundered and tormented! And this is your *candid* minister! this is your minister of *good intentions!*—As to the *present* sentiments of the people of Malta, they may easily be guessed at from the circumstances which have taken place, since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens. The agreement respecting a Maltese langue was despised by them. It was a deception

(2) See Debates, Vol. II. p. 1241.

(3) See Debates, Vol. II. p. 1213.

too shameful for them to give the least sanction to. No such langue has been formed, and the British ministers have, accordingly, left the choice of a Grand Master to the Pope, who, being himself a creature of Buonaparté, has appointed to that post another creature of Buonaparté. The publication of these papers is, of itself, a sufficient proof of the resentment of the Maltese, who have produced and promulgated them on their island as evidence of British injustice and perfidy, and who have resolved, in order to avenge themselves on us, to throw themselves and their island into the hands even of the French! They have, we are well informed, an agent now at Paris, negotiating with the court of St. Cloud. Their request is to be a free and independent state, *under the protection of France.* They wish France to support them in their resistance of the Knights, in their resistance of that abominable system, which England had framed for "their *happiness.*" They offer to receive, at all times, an unlimited number of French ships, of all sorts, into their ports, upon the condition, that only a limited number of French troops shall, at any one time, be permitted to land on their island.——Whether Buonaparté will listen to these propositions is more than we can say; but, if he does not, it is because the agreeing to them might, in some degree, retard the views which he has of obtaining, through the means of his tool, the Grand Master Thomasi, an exclusive possession of the island, an object which, we doubt not, he will, in one way or other, very soon accomplish.

TO THE RT. HON. LORD AUCKLAND, &c.

My lord,—The newspaper editors having published a paragraph, purporting to be a speech delivered by your lordship, in the House of Lords, on the 2d instant; which pretended speech is calculated to destroy the public credit of the country, I have, after some hesitation, resolved to trouble your lordship with a few words, in order to convince you of the necessity of removing the dangerous impression, which your silence might produce. These editors (for they all agree in their report) impute to you the following statement: "that the net revenue of the country would be found to "exceed £34,000,000. sterling, of which, "after deducting about £17,600,000 for "the discharge of the National Debt, there "would be the sum of £16,400,000. *applicable to public purposes.*" Now, my lord, as it is well known, that you may be regarded as a steady supporter of all the measures, not only of this administration, but of every administration, past, present, or to come, I have been a good deal alarmed, lest the speech, thus imputed to your lordship, should be looked upon as an indication of a design, which the present or future minister has conceived of *annihilating the Sinking Fund*, together with all the provisions for the reduction of the Debt. These news editors make you say, in addition to what I have above quoted: "that you have the "most sanguine hopes on this important "national subject, and that you entertain "no doubt of being able to establish your "statement by documents."—If your lordship should make it out that the net revenue amounts to £34,000,000. and that the discharge of the annual expenses of the National Debt demands no more than about £17,600,000. it certainly will not be very difficult to prove, that there are £16,400,000 remaining, "*applicable to public purposes.*" But, my lord, unless, in those *public purposes*, your lordship means to include the expenses of the Sinking Fund, which amount annually to about £,5,800,000. you must, if the report of your speech be correct, have in view the annihilation of that fund. "Applicable to public purposes!" If this has any meaning at all, it refers to a sum that is *not* already pledged; it refers to what, in the language of traders, is called *loose cash*, that the minister may employ in war or in any thing else that the times may call for; but your lordship must know, that the annual £1,000,000. the annual £200,000. the annual £2,500,000. arising from the 1 per cent. upon capitals created since 1793, together with the annual produce of fallen-in annuities, and of stock bought up by the commissioners; all these, amounting annually to about £5,800,000 your lordship well knows, are pledged, first pledged, for the support of the Sinking Fund, and therefore cannot be "applicable" to any other purpose whatever. The fact is, my lord, that the persons above-mentioned have taken your lordship's words, and have given to them the appearance of a most jesuitical attempt to deceive the vulgar, the mere porter-drinking politicians. Your lordship knows, as well as I do, that, for this very year, in which I am now writing, and for each succeeding year, there must be paid, *in taxes*, on account of the National Debt, more than £24,000,000. whereas your speech has been so distorted as to tend to make poor ignorant people believe, that the annual expense of the debt absorbs only £17,600,000. and that there are £16,400,000. a year remaining to be expended, if need be, in powder and ball.

Having troubled your lordship so far, I am tempted to go a little farther, in order to call your attention to an account, which has just been published, of the Consolidated Fund, for the quarter ending on the 5th of last month, and which, as far as it goes, exhibits a complete refutation of the estimates laid before the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 10th of December last, (1) the correctness of which estimates it was your lordship's laudable intention to establish. Mr. Addington, in order to keep *within the mark*, stated the surplus of the Consolidated Fund, for the present year, at £6,500. The result of the first quarter of the year, according to the official account, dated on the 21st ult. is as follows:

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The dividends charged on the income of the quarters ending in July and January are each of them about £2,000,000 greater in amount than are those which are charged on the April and October quarters; so that, unless there be a very great rise in the income in the three remaining quarters of the year, I am afraid Mr. Addington must seek for his surplus in the bag of DOCTOR VAL, or of some other potent conjuror.—I have constantly given it, as my opinion, that the surplus of the present year will fall more than £2,000,000. short of the minister's estimate;(2)and now, I believe, few persons will be found to controvert that opinion.—I beg your lordship to believe, that this is a source from which I derive no pleasure. Could I have had my choice, I would rather have seen my calculations prove erroneous; but, as it is now very clear, that deception was practised upon our Sovereign, upon his parliament, and his people, I am by no means sorry, that I was the first to detect and expose it. Nothing, my lord, is more injurious to the permanent credit of a country than exaggerated statements on the part of a minister of finance; and the man, who can make such statements, for the sake of any political purpose whatever, merits the severest reprobation. Mr. Addington's estimate of December has produced a lasting depreciation in public credit: it has deceived hundreds of thousands, and has ruined not a few, whose mouths are filled with bitter reproaches against him, nor are they more bitter than just. With respect to the people at large, too, flattering financial statements have a most fatal tendency. The country is deceived; men's minds are not prepared for the contributions which they are called upon to make; the minister always comes to parliament, and the tax-gather to the doors of individuals, with a demand, which is heavy and vexatious only because it is *unexpected*. And, if such misrepresentations ought always to be avoided, they ought at this time more especially, when every thing indicates the absolute necessity of great and permanent pecuniary sacrifices. I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Duke Str. West. 4th May, 1803.

(1) See Register, Vol. II. p. 780.
(2) See Register, Vol. II. p. 550.

Richmond Park, April 29, 1803.

SIR,—Your insertion of the following account of my situation will extremely oblige a moderate man, of moderate talents, as you will perceive; and if you can give him any advice that may extricate him from his present embarrassing ideas, it will be received with gratitude.—You must be informed, Sir, that for many years I presided over a large mansion, where nothing was done without consulting me, and I was much respected by all my neighbours; but, as there were inconveniencies attending the place, and my family was numerous, I thought it prudent to economize; and, for that purpose, removed to a lodge in Richmond-Park, which a friend gave me, rent-free. My business frequently led me to town; and, as the roads are sometimes dangerous, I was, at first, for the sake of security, induced to vary my route homewards, that I might not be waylaid by some daring highwayman: but I here placed the foundation of a passion that harasses my mind extremely; yet such is the force of habit, that, vexatious as it is, I cannot prevail on myself totally to discard it.—It is no less, Sir, than a resolution to go in and out of town, by a different road, every day, in which I have met with so many adventures, as I think will deter others from such singular speculations. In charity I publish them.—In my way to town, as I was not much known at first, I passed quietly enough, the country people are so good natured; but, by crossing the fields, my name soon became known, and, by way of distinction, I was called *The Doctor*, which title, some of the servants had mentioned to have belonged to my papa; and as the idea of rank spreads rapidly, wherever I went, by whatever lanes or crooked paths I passed, I heard the term *Doctor*, continually sounding in my ears, as if the claim to such distinction had been

written in my face, which indeed is not by any means so expressive. It is only simple, good-natured, as if the owner was fond of water-gruel. At last, however, in the country, I was considered with that courtesy granted to silly people, and which entitles them to be privileged in their thoughts and actions.—I was frequently forced to hear discussions of the merits and demerits of the Richmond Doctor, under a pretence of being deaf. But my adventures in my way to town were not numerous; I was always in a hurry to do the business I had left unfinished the day before, and from this reason was in a certain degree compelled to relinquish this part of my project.—My first plan to return to Richmond was through Windsor, and my servant, apparently a little surprized, went on through Hounslow; but when he found I took such a round in my way home, not observing the private nod I made, *en passant*, to my friend near the Castle, he grumbled very much about my whimsicals, as he called them.—The next day I went by Wimbledon, to see if any thing new was going on there, and looked over Lord Spencer's pailings, but could hear of nothing but sinking wells, in great perseverance, for which his lordship is famous, and of indefatigable activity, for his time of life, in an elderly gentleman of that neighbourhood.—I one day sent my horses to the end of Oxford-road, intending to go round Hyde-park, and I walked towards Bond-street, when I suddenly recollected, that somebody once told me that one side of that street was fashionable, the other vulgar; and as I could not remember the proper side, the classic of "*in medio tutissimus ibis*," became my guide, to the great amusement of the people, but to the vexation of many a charioteer.—Once I thought of sending my horses to Whitechapel, and going home by the City-road: in my way, curiosity led me into Lloyd's Coffee-house, where, I believe, they actually took me for a madman, for they immediately turned me out; and, as misfortunes seldom come single, a shower of rain sent me for shelter to the Stock Exchange, when a set of Jews absolutely hustled me, and I was glad to escape with my life.—On one fine day, I thought of going by water a little way down the river, directing my horses to meet me at the Isle of Dogs. I took a boat at Westminster, and was much entertained with the grandeur of the city of which I had previously no adequate idea. As we approached London-bridge, observing the immense and tremendous current under it, I was terrified beyond imagination, and begged of my conductors to pull ashore; but, to my extreme astonishment, they declared it was too late to return, and that there was no danger: in fact, these sailors swore they would answer for me, if I would only trust to them, and they really did carry me safe through a very awful scene.—I may again trouble you, at a future day, with some more of my adventures, and am, Sir,

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The following account of the transactions of Wednesday last, we copy from a morning paper, without adopting any one of the sentiments which it contains.

"One of the most infamous frauds and impositions ever practised, yesterday threw the whole City of London into confusion. Some persons, yet unknown, about half past 8 o'clock, or about 9, sent the following letter to the Lord Mayor:—"*To the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor*:—Downing Street, 8. a. m.—Lord Hawkesbury presents compliments to the Lord Mayor, and has the honour to acquaint his lordship that the negociation between this Country and the French Republic has been amicably adjusted."—The Lord Mayor, without the least suspicion of fraud, sent a copy to Lloyd's, stuck up the substance of the note on the Mansion-House and went himself to the Stock Exchange. The market began at 69, and the price varied to 70¼. No suspicion appears to have been entertained for three hours. At length the following letter from Lord Hawkesbury arrived at the Mansion House.—"Downing Street, May 5. My Lord.—As I have just been informed that a letter has been sent to your lordship, pretended to be signed by me, respecting the state of the negotiations, between this Country and France, I lose no time in informing your lordship, that no such letter has been sent by me, and I request, therefore, that you would take immediate steps for undeceiving the public, and detecting the daring forgery. I have the honor to be, &c. &c. *To the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor.* HAWKESBURY." Previous to this, however, Mr. Goldsmid having called at the Mansion House, on seeing the paper, pronounced it a forgery. The Lord Mayor on finding that he had been made the dupe of an imposture, took every method in his power to undeceive the Public.—Government mean-while were active in contradicting this atrocious fraud, and counteracting its effects. The following Official Note was sent round to all the evening papers:—"*To the Editor.*—Treasury, May 5, 1803—1 o'clock. Sir, I have to acquaint you, that the Message, which was supposed to have been sent this morning from Lord Hawkesbury to the Lord Mayor, stating that the negociations with France had terminated amicably, is a fabrication, and totally destitute of truth. I am, Sir, &c. JOHN SARGENT." Upon the discovery, it is impossible to conceive the tumult and indignation which broke out at the Stock Exchange: all was consternation and uproar. A great deal of business had been done. Business was suspended, and a deliberation rather of a hasty kind was held, to consider what was to be done. It was resolved that the bargains transacted in the course of the day should be null and void. In this the House have done right, in as far as they could do any thing at all. They have decided that time bargains should not be binding; but certainly it is wholly out of their competence to

decide whether a *bonâ fide* sale and an actual transfer shall be held valid. This will, in all probability, come to be tried by another Tribunal, for we understand that several buyers had directed that the checks they had given for the payment of stock sold should not be paid. If this is not acquiesced in by the seller, a law suit must be the consequence. We understand, however, that several persons are willing to acquiesce in the decision of the House, though not binding in law.—An extraordinary Committee has been appointed to investigate the whole of this mysterious affair. The Committee sat last night. One of their objects is to examine the accounts of every member of the Stock Exchange, both for the transactions of Wednesday and yesterday, to endeavour to find out whether there be any traces of a concerted design having been acted upon. The House has offered a reward of 5,000*l.* for a discovery of the actors in this villainous fraud, and the Lord Mayor, individaully, has offered a reward of 500*l.* The inconvenience, though more conspicuous, and the loss to individuals in the event of sales being adhered to more considerable, in the Stock Exchange, was not confined to it. Merchants immediately set about putting their affairs in a train adapted to peace, and *order and counter order* quickly succeeded a short period of unexampled bustle and agitation. Besides, expresses were sent off with important orders, which it was necessary instantly to recall.—Indeed from what we observed, and have been told, nothing has happened for many years which has excited so great a sensation. It *exceeded* even the surprise which the signing of the Preliminaries produced.—The Lord Mayor was not at home when the card was delivered. We are told that the person who brought it was booted and spurred, and seemed to have come from a journey; that he wore a great coat; that he had a grey-hound on his button, like a King's messenger, &c. Some now say, that he spoke with a foreign accent; that he gave in the letter by the side door, not at the front gate, &c. These circumstances, so far from allaying should have excited suspicion: for it was not to be supposed that Lord Hawkesbury would send the messenger who arrived from Dover. Besides, there was time sufficient to make inquiries. The circumstance of the communication coming from the Lord Mayor lulled all suspicion, because it was naturally supposed that the Lord Mayor had reason to be satisfied from the manner in which the intelligence was brought to him, &c. that the communication was authentic. —The impression of Lord Hawkesbury's seal, it appears, is genuine. It had been taken whole from a letter, and dextrously affixed to the Lord Mayor's letter by some fresh wax!—The transactions of yesterday being held to be cancelled, there has been no price of stocks issued. It was stated, however, that the prices fell to something below 63, and again rose to 64, in private bargains."—*(Morning Chronicle).*

The *joyful intelligence* spread through this large City, with the rapidity of lightning, and it is impossible to describe the demonstrations of *satisfaction* and *joy* which were every where expressed.—Never was there such a scene of *consternation* and *confusion* as that which took place immediately after the discovery of the imposition. Between one and two o'clock, the confusion and uproar about the Stock Exchange were unexampled. Every one believed the fabrication to have originated with some persons about the Stock Exchange. The gaping throng flocked to Capel-court, looking out for the scene of the bulls and bears saying, "*Aye, this must be the place by the crowd and noise.*" In the mean time those who had been gambling, were passing to and fro, some swearing the bargains should stand good, others swearing they should not. Indications of scenes *à la Belcher* were even given. The mutual heat and fury were great, still the mob rolled on to see the *Peace* and *Peace-makers*, the *Temple of Peace* as some called it, till at last the neighbourhood was impassable." *(Morning Post.)*

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

KING OF FRANCE.—The Morning Post of Monday last, from whence it has been copied into the other papers, has given the particulars of a transaction, as extraordinary in its nature, as it is important in its issue, and in the consequences which must necessarily result from it. We allude to the proposition made, at the desire of Buonaparté, to Louis XVIII. his master. Although what has appeared in these papers is not altogether correct, it is, nevertheless, founded in fact. We have for some time been in possession of this intelligence, together with the circumstances attending it, and should, before now, have laid them before our readers, had we not been restrained by great and important considerations. These considerations, which still exist, prevent us from entering, at present, into so detailed an account as we could otherwise have desired, of what has passed upon this subject; but we can assure our readers, that we will not fail to present them, as soon as we prudently can, with a faithful and circumstantial detail of the proposition which has been made to Louis XVIII. together with the noble and dignified answers of this magnanimous Prince. We shall then see, that the conduct of this unfortunate Monarch, on the 26th of February last, renders him a thousand times greater than Louis XIV. after his most brilliant victories and important conquests: we shall then see the bitterest enemy of the King of France reduced to the necessity of acknowledging, that this circumstance, if he had no other claims, from his long calamities and the courage he has constantly shewn in adversity, would alone entitle him to immortality; they will then confess, that, by the noble manner in which this prince rejected the insidious propositions which were made him, he has shewn himself, at once, the father of his people, the real friend of his faithful subjects, the protector of all sovereigns, and that, proud of his misfortunes, and with no support but the justice of his cause and the legitimacy of his rights, he has rendered more real service to France, to Europe, and to the whole world, in one day, than all the armies and all the coalitions, that have not for their real and avowed object, the

re-establishment of the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors, will ever be able to accomplish.

As in all great events, it is highly essential, in order to form a correct judgement, to be acquainted with the most minute details, and as facts, in passing from mouth to mouth, are generally distorted, we entreat our readers to be upon their guard against the various reports to which this circumstance may give birth: in the mean time, we present them with the following outline.

A person charged with powers and instructions from the King of Prussia, presented himself, on the 26th of February last, to Louis XVIII. for the purpose of engaging him to abdicate and renounce his legitimate rights, and to obtain a similar renunciation from the princes of his family. No negotiation whatever took place. A formal and positive, though dignified, refusal immediately followed the proposition. The newspapers are mistaken, when they assert, that the proposition was rejected by the King of France with contempt. Contempt is a sentiment incapable of finding a place in the bosom of a King, and more especially of such a King as Louis XVIII. A "brilliant "establishment," a "certain and permanent "existence," for the unfortunate Monarch and his family; such were the written expressions presented to him; and, although the promise of the Kingdom of Poland was not formally expressed, we can, nevertheless, assure our readers, that such was the intention of Buonaparté, and his mediator the King of Prussia, who relied upon the acquiescence of Russia and the other principal powers of the Continent, although, it appears, that those powers had never been consulted. And as indemnities are now become fashionable, and, under this pretext, we are accustomed to consider a seizure of the possessions of our neighbours, in order to aggrandize ourselves, justifiable, it was proposed to give Hanover, Hamburg, Bremen and the adjoining countries to Prussia; a portion of Turkey to the Emperors of Russia and Germany; and Egypt, of course, to the Corsican Usurper, as the reward of his good offices. It is evident that this plan was entirely directed against this country, and our readers will not fail to perceive, that the King of France, by his noble conduct on this occasion, has proved, that if England has no greater enemy than Buonaparté, so she has no friend more faithful or sincere, than Louis XVIII.

Many persons seem to consider it extraordinary, that the King of Prussia should have lent his assistance to such a mediation. We are, certainly, far from approving such a line of conduct; but we have powerful reasons for believing, that on this, as well as on many other occasions, the wishes of this monarch are at variance with his actions. The Treaty of Basle, which, in 1795, his perfidious ministers obliged him to sign with the execrable Convention which at that time governed France, placed him in a situation which has constantly obliged him, ever since that moment, to yield to circumstances. It is not, therefore, the Monarch, whom we ought to blame or accuse, but the infamous advisers with whom he is surrounded, and who, from one false step to another, are insensibly conducting him to his ruin.

It is not a little extraordinary, that, while all the Sovereigns of Europe, since the murder of the unfortunate Lewis the XVI. have treated his lawful successor as if he had no claims whatever to the throne of France, an Usurper and a rebel subject should be the first to *acknowledge* the legitimacy of those claims, by the proposition he has made for an abandonment of them.

THE NAVY.—A motion brought forward, in the House of Commons, on the 4th instant, by Sir Henry Mildmay, has, at last, produced some little information from the ministers, on this most important subject. They declined giving any thing very unequivocal; but what they said amounted to a tacit acknowledgment of the truth of all our former statements relative to the decrepid state of the navy. Mr. Addington stated, that there were 32 ships of the line *in commission* in our European ports; but he did not venture to state the number *fit for sea*, which our readers may be assured does not, even now amount to *ten* after two months of preparation, after two months of imminent danger of invasion! The debate, to which we allude, brought from the Chancellor of the Exchequer an explanation of his memorable promise of fifty additional ships of the line, in the space of a month. That promise was made on the 2d of December last, and in the following words:— "What apprehension can be felt for our "safety, when it is known, that, by the *pru-* "*dent* and *wise* conduct of the First Lord "of the Admiralty, such arrangements are "made, that, in case of emergency, *fifty* "sail of the line can be prepared *for sea* "within one month, and even a larger "number, should the exigency be pressing? "Thus are we situated, *ready for any event.*" —The explanation given to this promise, in Mr. Addington's speech, in answer to Sir Henry Mildmay, on the 4th instant, was this:—"The Honourable Baronet, has," said he, "incidentally thrown out an ex- "pression, that the system of the Board of

" Admiralty is such as to starve the sup-
" plies for the public service, and has al-
" luded to an expression which fell from me
" on a former occasion; that in case of an
" emergency fifty sail of the line would be
" ready for sea within the space of a month.
" Now, Sir, I will rather risk the imputa-
" tion of having uttered unguarded language
" than have any improper insinuation thrown
" out against the present Board of Admi-
" ralty. I never said that within a month
" from the time that an emergency should
" occur, fifty sail of the line would be *com-*
" *pletely manned and ready for service.* But I
" said, and I state it again, not on my *own*
" authority, but on the authority of one
" who I am confident is *incapable of de-*
" *ceiving me*, that within a month after an
" emergency, there would be ready, fully
" *rigged* and *fitted out*, fifty sail of the line.
" I did not, when I made this statement,
" allude to the *complement of men.*"—What a shuffle! No; not even a shuffle, but a most miserable *attempt* at a shuffle. The promise was, fifty sail of the line, " pre-
" pared (or ready) *for sea.*" This the candid gentleman does not deny; but, he says, that " *ready for sea*" means only " fully *rig-*
" *ged* and *fitted out*," and does not include the circumstance of *manning*, which he seems to regard as not properly belonging to the readiness of a ship! But, when we say a ship of war is ready *for sea*, do we not always mean, that she is in a state that requires nothing but orders and a fair wind to send her *out to sea to fight against the enemy?* Is not this the grammatical as well as the technical meaning, is it not the obvious, is it not the only meaning, of the words? Since, then, Mr. Addington has now declared, that he was *not* deceived with respect to the exertions of which the Admiralty was capable; and, as he has acknowledged that those exertions were *not* adequate to the preparing of fifty sail, in the space of a month, completely manned, it inevitably follows, either that he thought the ships might *sail out and fight without men*, or, that he told the parliament and the country *an intentional falsehood*, any thing in the prosecution of the Plymouth Tinker to the contrary notwithstanding. This fact, however, did not want to be confirmed by his speech of Thursday night: it was well established before, and would long ago have been resented, in a manner to drive him from his ill-gotten power in any country but this, and in this country too, at any former period of its history.——But, after all, the question is, how does the navy stand *now?* How many ships of the line are there in our European ports, ready for sea, not without men, but with men? Not *ten.* Positively we assert, *not ten.* There are no men. We have ships enough; but, for any purposes of national defence, they are as useless as the huge stones upon Salisbury Plain. Nor were the present difficulties unforeseen. In descanting on the disadvantages which the peace of Amiens would produce with respect to the renewal of the war, if it should be found necessary, we made, so long ago as October last, the following observations:——" Well do we re-
" member, that (Lord Hawkesbury) in
" stating the relative strength of the two
" countries, made a proud enumeration of
" our ships; but, ships without *men* are only
" useless masses of timber and iron, and the
" men who formed the soul of our eight
" hundred and thirty-four armed ships *are*
" *now nearly all scattered far beyond the reach*
" *of a press-gang.* It is said, that from ten
" to twenty thousand of these men have
" gone to France. This is improbable;
" but, we have very good reason to believe,
" that several thousands have gone thither;
" and to the United States of America such
" is their desire to go, that ships bound
" to that country are now, especially from
" Bristol and Liverpool, frequently navi-
" gated free of the expense of seamen's
" wages. That the artificers, of which the
" dock-yards are already stripped, will fol-
" low the example of the sailors, there can
" be no doubt, nor can there be any, that
" their loss will be most severely felt. This
" loss, both of sailors and of artificers, would
" have taken place, to a certain degree, at
" the peace, whenever and however it might
" have been made; but, if France had
" been, by the treaty, reduced within pro-
" per bounds, or if we had retained foreign
" possessions to balance, in some sort,
" against her acquisitions on the Continent;
" in other words, if we had preserved, un-
" diminished, our *navigation* and our *honour*,
" neither poverty nor shame would have
" driven our sailors and shipwrights to
" France, Holland, and America."—These observations have been but too soon and too fatally verified. There are no sailors to be found for the Royal Navy; neither bounties nor press-gangs can reach them; they are gone after the *honour of the flag*, which was formerly their boast, and which was basely bartered away by the peace, that peace, that ruinous and infamous peace, from which have flowed all the evils now experienced by this dishonoured country. Queen Mary, when at the point of death, told her attendants to have her opened, and to look for Calais at the bottom of her heart. So, when England expires, at the bottom of her heart will be found the poisonous, the corroding,

the accursed treaty of Amiens.——There are persons, who, feeling the just severity of our censures, cut down by our exposure of their criminal selfishness and deceptions, attempt to retaliate by attributing to us a desire to witness the dishonour of our country. Did the editor of this work discover such a desire, when, at the risk of his property and his life, he stood alone in resisting the efforts made by the hirelings of ministry, to compel him to exhibit signs of joy at the conclusion of the ignominious treaty, which is the cause, and the only cause, of all our present embarrassments, and of all the calamities and horrors that attend us? Where were, then, those diurnal writers, who now lend their pens to prefer this atrociously false accusation against him? Where were you then, you base rampant creatures? Hailing the harbinger of peace; hanging on the skirts of the insolent Lauriston; unanimously joining in the shouts of the rabble; echoing the cry of "peace and plenty!—Peace "and a large loaf!" and reviling those who had the sagacity to foresee, and the honesty to foretell, the very troubles which have now come upon the country, and which you yourselves deplore, only because you personnally feel their mischievous effects. And, where will you be found, should the French make a successful invasion of our Island? Under the banners of your Sovereign? No; but in the camp of the enemy; at the headquarters of their commander, making him a tender of your treacherous services. Amongst millions of the base, you would be the basest; amongst hundreds of thousands of traitors, you would take special care to merit the infamous pre-eminence.

The Message.—In our last Summary, under the head of Cape of Good Hope, we endeavoured, (and we believe with some degree of success) to convince our readers, that the Message, which the ministers advised his Majesty to make to Parliament, stated, as reasons for arming, facts which did not exist. The "*preparations going on* "*in the ports of France and Holland*" we believe to be a mere pretext, and this belief is now confirmed, as far as any thing can be said to derive confirmation, from the acknowledgments of the present ministers; one of the Lords of the Admiralty having declared, in Parliament, that "he desired "to state, in the most unqualified terms, "that in all parts of the world we had a "naval force much more than adequate to "cope with the force of any power in Eu"rope, and that at home our force was "amply sufficient to meet any French "force, which, indeed, consisted *of nothing* "*better than fishing boats*, and *existed only in* "*in the minds of a few gentlemen on the* "*other side of the House.*"—What a declaration to make in the face of the country, and of all Europe, at a moment when we are endeavouring to fit out a fleet, and when the militia is embodied, under the pretext of *repelling a contemplated invasion* on the part of France! An attempt was made to explain away the meaning of this memorable acknowledgment, to turn it into a mere professional boast; but, this was not thought of, till the inconvenience, which would result from the confession, was pointed out. Here, then, the assertions of the French Government, with respect to the principal alleged cause of the armament, are fully corroborated by the ministers themselves; and, on our parts, we have more than ever reason to suspect, that the apprehensions which those ministers entertained of the consequences that would follow the intelligence of their recapture of the Cape, was the principal, if not the only real cause, of the Message and the armament, and that the dispute, about which negotiations are now going on, was *made* by the ministers themselves, in order to disguise the true object of their hostile measures. This is our firm belief; and, as we before observed, the papers, relative to the negotiation, will, if they are ever made public, establish the truth of all our conjectures on the subject.—For this reason, therefore, if for no other, the ministers will patch up an accommodation, if possible. They dare not show the papers, and, if they will but preserve peace, the base nation will not trouble itself about the means they have made use of to attain the blessed object.

Change of Ministry.—On this subject nothing new has transpired; but, as being closely connected therewith, we think it right to notice the recent defection of the two newspapers, the *True Briton* and the *Sun*, which, till within these few days, were under the absolute controul of the Treasury. These prints were originally established by the Treasury, through the medium of Mr. George Rose, late Secretary, who committed them to the direction of a Scotchman, named John Heriot. The types, &c. &c. were paid for out of the public money, and the property was given to Heriot, who, as long as it was understood that Mr. Pitt (and Mr. Rose, of course) approved of the conduct of the present ministry, defended and eulogized that ministry on *every occasion*, but who has now left them, from the same motives that sagacious vermin desert a house which has long been their favourite haunt.—In pos-

session of these facts, the reader will enter on the following interesting contrast with peculiar advantage. When he has read one paragraph, we request him to read the opposite one, paying great attention to the *dates*.

LORD ST. VINCENT AND THE ADMIRALTY.

On Mr. Addington's clear and satisfactory statement of the naval strength of Great Britain we *congratulate* the country. In case of any sudden emergency, what can we have to apprehend? If *fifty additional sail of the line could be equipped in a month*, how much larger a proportion of frigates, sloops, cutters, gun-boats, &c. might not, even, in a less time, be prepared. (*Dec.* 2. 1802.)

We are the sincere friends and zealous supporters of the government, though we disdain to become like *the Times*, the mean panegyrists of the Admiralty, the only department of the public service, to which the charge of *incapacity* and *misconduct* can truly attach. (*April* 8, 1803.)

We are happy to learn that the *alacrity* with which seamen re-enter the service *is absolutely without example*. This is, indeed, a genuine proof of British spirit! especially as immediate views of gain, in case of a renewal of the war, cannot be their inducement.—(*11th March*, 1803.)

Several more ships of the line have within these two days been commissioned; but there is *a great complaint of want of men*. The reign of terror at the Admiralty must cease, before either officers or men will come forward with *alacrity*. (*April* 8, 1803.)

The reports which have been so *industriously* circulated of the intended resignation of Earl St. Vincent, *are wholly without foundation*. (*March* 8, 1803.)

It is quite certain that Earl St. Vincent will, very shortly, resign his office as First Lord of the Admiralty. The only cause of delay is the difficulty of finding some one to accept of the office in his room. We would earnestly recommend to whoever is his successor, *to tread back most of the steps which his Lordship has taken* since he has been at the head of that department. (*April* 19.)

They [the ministers] need not deprecate the continuance of an opposition, which has so recently *stigmatized itself by its resistance to a measure for the reform of abuses*, which was so loudly called for, and the *necessity* of which has been so long ackowledged. (*Feb.* 4, 1803.)

The Commissioners appointed to inquire into the *abuses* of the navy, are called upon by Parliament for a report of their proceedings, but the three naval officers having long lost the aid of the two legal commissioners, they are at a loss whether to form the line a-breast, or throw out a signal of distress. (*April* 29.)

FINANCE.

This great financial measure, on which we believe, but one opinion prevails, has *established his reputation* in that difficult branch of public business. (*Jan.* 4, 1801.)—We cannot but *congratulate* the country upon the flourishing and prosperous state of its resources, which has been *proved beyond all doubt*, by the unanswerable documents brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. (*Dec.* 29, 1802.)

It is understood that Lord Grenville means to attack the financial statement made by the minister *in December last*. In the statement alluded to we *fear* some *inaccuracies* have *crept in*. (*May* 2, 1803.)

ABLE AND WISE ADMINISTRATION.

Our minister is highly respected abroad. His *talents*, are of *the very first* rate description. None better than him knows the value of the *blessings of peace*; but if forced into a war, *an event not at all probable*, he will possess the fullest confidence of the nation. (*November* 20, 1802).—To those who have hazarded the *idle* and *unfounded* accusation of *want of energy* and *vigour* against our ministers, we answer by a single question—What solitary instance can be adduced, since his Majesty called them to their present situations, *that can furnish even a colour for it?* (JAN. 1, 1803).——We know, that we have a government, *able, observant, vigilant*, and *firm*; and (wholly indifferent to the charge of *adulation* and *subserviency*) we readily leave to the public to determine, whether our *confidence* does or does not sympathize with the feelings and opinions of our countrymen at large. (*Feb.* 28, 1803).

Whatever may be the issue of the present negotiation with France, A STRONG ADMINISTRATION will be NECESSARY FOR OUR SECURITY. In whatever way the present negotiation with France ends, the country will naturally look to a *strong* administration, because experience has taught us that we have only difficulty to expect. It is hardly necessary for us to say, that among the present ministers there are *some* whom we most highly respect—in whose talents and whose characters we have great confidence: but there are times in which *every* department should be filled with the ablest men in the country. We have already expressed our disappointment and regret, in observing the conduct of the Naval Department, and when we look *round*, much as we respect *some* of his Majesty's ministers, we must own, that UNLESS SOME CHANGES take place, *our best consolation will rest in the faint hope of secure Peace.*"—(*Apr.* 29).

ADDINGTON AND PITT.

That *consistent* statesman, Lord Grenville, is pleased to tell us, that Mr. Pitt is the ONLY person, at the present crisis, capable of saving the country!!!—The measures of a Government may be very wise and highly salutary to the country, whose affairs are intrusted to its management, though unaccompanied with the *display of extraordinary* ORATORICAL talents. Like the powers of mechanism, the affairs of state may generally be considered as going on the *most correctly* and satisfactorily, when there is the *least appearance of effort*.

" ——————— *Stillest* streams
" Oft' water *fairest meadows*, and the bird
" That flutters least is *longest on the wing*."

Of this quotation we willingly leave to the judgment of our readers, and to the course of time, the justice and propriety of the application. (*February* 4, 1803).

As the ivy that embraces the oak, is sheltered by its proud height and spreading branches from the ravages of the storm, so we cling to the genius of Mr. Pitt, as the surest saviour of our country. *It is he alone that, in our opinion, can successfully cope with the duplicity, the cunning, and the rooted enmity of France towards the British Empire*—It is *he alone*, that can curb and defeat its hostile views in the deceitful calm of nominal peace, or direct our efforts with effect during the less dangerous storm of open and declared warfare. ——We really believe, that Mr. Pitt is himself disinclined to the resumption of official situation; but it is only a small part of the true patriotism of his soul, to sacrifice all personal considerations to the public welfare. Were he called to the chief management of the public affairs by the mandate of his Sovereign, he would, no doubt, feel it his duty to draw around him the best talents which the country can afford; but these arrangements are with us *but very secondary considerations—let but the genius of Mr. Pitt preside, and we shall think ourselves secure.—(May* 4, 1803).

To attempt a becoming expression of the indignation and disgust, excited by this loathsome picture of political servility and perfidy, would be vain, and, we trust, useless; for who is there that can view it, without entertaining those feelings in an inexpressible degree! But, we do hope, for the sake of MR. PITT's reputation, that he will use some means or other to prevent the longer continuance of this most shameful traffic. To be eulogized, to be called for, in publications like these, implies every thing that is mean and suspicious. That he does not sanction, that he does not view with pleasure, the parasitical conduct of the persons who dictate the sentiments of these prints is certain; but, his character requires, that he should *prevent* the promulgation of such sentiments through such channels. The tone, now taken by the *True Briton* and the *Sun*, is regarded, by many, as a prelude to the return to office of all those low and selfish persons, who formerly hung so heavily upon Mr. Pitt, and who, when he retired, dropped off, gorged with the wealth of the nation. Aptly enough do they compare themselves to the *ivy* clinging round the *oak*:

" See there the selfish world pourtrayed
" In that dark look, that creeping pace!
" No flower can bear the ivy's shade;
" No tree support its cold embrace.
" The oak that rears it from the ground,
" And bears its tendrils to the skies,
" Feels at his heart the rankling wound,
" And in its poisonous arms he dies."

Such is the illustration of the figure, which these parasites have chosen: the moral we leave to the contemplation of MR. PITT.

SPLENDID HUMBUG. — Referring our readers to the Domestic head for an account of the facts, relative to the waggish trick, which was, on the 5th instant, played upon the ministry and the stock-jobbers, through the medium of those two sapient personages, Lord Hawkesbury and the Lord Mayor of London, we have to observe here on a circumstance or two, which, in the bustle, seem to have escaped the attention of the public.—And, first, that the charge of an "*infamous fraud*," of a "*daring forgery*," which have been so confidently preferred against the person who played off the joke, are entirely unfounded, unless his intention was to obtain money thereby, which is by no means apparent, or even probable, since he must have known, that any speculations made in consequence of the news, would be rendered of no effect. *Forgery*, according to the statutes, it is none. Lord Hawkesbury may, indeed, bring an action, at common law, against the person who has counterfeited his name; but no jury, unless composed of unprincipled stock-jobbers, would give him more than *sixpence* damages. The fact is, that it is a jest, very mortifying, we allow, to the dignified inhabitants of Downing Street and the Mansion House, but no more criminal, either in a legal or a moral point of view, than any of the innumerable tricks that are constantly played off on the first of April; and, therefore, if the wag wants money, we would advise him to turn informer himself, and demand the 5,000 pounds, so "*liberally* offered by the "*gentlemen* of the Stock Exchange." If he be a weak-bodied person, indeed, some caution may be necessary in making himself

known; for, in that case, we should not be surprized if "the *gentlemen* of the Stock "Exchange" were to crucify him. But, let Belcher claim the joke, and we'll answer for his getting the "liberal" reward, the value of which, if we take into consideration the depreciation of money, is, we find, exactly equal to the 30 pieces of silver, so "liberally" paid to Judas Iscariot by the "gentlemen" of Jerusalem.——No, no; there was nothing unlawful, nothing criminal in this trick, unless it had been intended for the purpose of obtaining money. It was a joke, and an admirable joke. The citizens wanted "*good news*," they got it; and now, forsooth, they threaten to tear to pieces the person who gave it them! "It was of such *short duration*." How could he help that? Besides, is not short pleasure better than none? He announced to them the glad tidings of peace. *What* peace he did not say; nor did they *inquire*. Whether short or long, good or bad, honourable or infamous, they never asked. Without hearing a word about *the terms*, they began instantly to rejoice. "Have you heard *the* GOOD *news*," was the question they put to one another. The "*Right Honourable* the Lord Mayor" went, we are told, in person, "to commu-"nicate the *glad tidings* to the gentlemen "of the Stock Exchange," and, we are further told, that he wrote to Lord Hawkesbury, the "*safe* politician" Lord Hawkesbury, to thank him for his communication of "the *happy* event." A general *grand illumination* was to have followed, and the Post-Office crew were, very probably, already preparing themselves with stones and bludgeons for the purpose. And, all this, without once asking *what were the terms* of the accommodation! Without even thinking any thing about the object of the armament; without caring a straw about Malta or any thing else; and, we sincerely believe, that if Guernsey, Jersey, the Isle of Wight, or even Ireland, had been the price, it would not have been thought too great for the "inestimable blessing." Such are the principles, on which the treaty of Amiens was made and defended, and such are the principles it has instilled into the minds of this sordid and degenerated people.—The merchants and traders were said to be enraged against Buonaparté, and extremely impatient for a decision on the part of our cabinet; but, the April-fool trick has amply proved, that their rage and their impatience arose from no other cause than the interruption given to lucrative operations. And, it is to us something wonderful, that no one seems to have perceived, that the trick might be of a *political* and not of a pecuniary nature. Mens minds are so entirely filled with ideas of money, that they never imagine it possible for any one to have made use of sham-news of peace, in order *to discover the real sentiments of the nation*, or, at least, of the City of London, which, unfortunately for the honour and independence of England, but too often gives the tone to the country. We do not know, that this was the object of the letter to the Mayor; but, it must be obvious to every one, that it has had this effect; that it has made a discovery which was not to be come at by any other means. The *terms* are now proved to be no obstacle in the way of an accommodation; and that this is a great point gained, is well known to all the profound and enlightened members of our corps diplomatic. Far be it from us to insinuate, that the Richmond park ministry would have recourse to such an invention (the Plymouth Tinker for that); but we are not bound to discard the supposition with respect to Buonaparté, who, without any violation of that amity, "which so happily subsists between the two countries," and for endeavouring to disturb which Mr. Peltier was prosecuted, might, perhaps, make use of this ingenious method of coming at a true statement of the dispositions of the "*enlightened* people of Great-Britain," whom his official paper has lately asserted not to be fairly represented in Parliament. Be this as it may, the joke, or trick, or whatever else it is, has made the discovery to him, and we may be assured, that he will profit from it, with that address which characterises all his transactions.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the House of Commons, this evening, ministers declared, that intelligence had arrived of Lord Whitworth having applied for passports, in order to leave Paris; and that General Andreossi had also applied for passports, for the purpose of leaving London.—On a motion made by the ministers, for an adjournment to Monday next, of which an amendment (substituting to-morrow instead of Monday) was proposed, there was a debate of considerable length and animation. The ministers finally carried the motion for an adjournment to Monday, 189 to 95.—So! here is a little spirit plucked up at last. It is high time!—The *gallery was cleared* during the debate, on the motion of a ministerial member! —Last Friday was the anniversary of the *demolition of my house*, in Pall Mall!

May 6, 1803. *Wm. Cobbett.*

NOTICES.

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